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# Sub-Saharan Africa Report

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30 April 1984

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## ANGOLA

### ZAIRE PROVINCE PORT, TRANSPORT PROJECTS NOTED

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 10 Mar 84 p 9

[Excerpts] The Volker Stevin company is going to build two piers at the Kwanda base, near Soyo, under an agreement signed recently with SONANGOL [Angolan National Fuel Company].

Each pier will have 200 meters of usable space and will receive ships of up to 5,000 tons. One of the piers will also be used by the Fisheries and Transportation ministries, which represents a social benefit for the local population.

Construction is expected to be completed by the end of 1985. The piers are part of the second phase of the development program for Soyo, where SONANGOL, in cooperation with other petroleum companies, is creating the conditions for industrial development, to benefit the inhabitants of this part of Zaire Province.

Volker Stevin has already carried out several engineering and dredging projects for SONANGOL, specifically the dredging of the Pululu channel, which provides access to the Kwanda base; it conducted the drainage operations and built the retaining walls at the construction site for the new oil storage facilities and the transport base, in Lobito.

### Deficiencies in Transfer of Products from Country to City

Navanda Maria, acting commissioner of Zaire Province, said in an interview with the Angolan news agency ANGOP that the transport sector in the province is encountering problems which are affecting the transfer of products between the country and M'Banza Congo and between this city and the nation's capital.

He noted that this situation has affected the normal development of the province, because it hampers the efforts of several other sectors.

In this regard, he added that the delay in the rehabilitation and the outfitting of the two ports of Moqui and Soyo, the lack of a vehicle maintenance enterprise and the suspension of construction of the new airport, among other problems, are also impeding the development of Zaire Province.

Mavanda Maria said further that this province, once ignored by the colonial authorities where agriculture was concerned, is now seeking the path that will lead to food self-sufficiency. The acting commissioner explained that a pilot program was recently launched in the locality of Nkiende, where the available manpower and materials are being concentrated at this time.

The acting commissioner of Zaire Province was also pleased with the prompt response of the young people to the appeal by the commander-in-chief of the FAPLA [Armed Forces for the Popular Liberation of Angola] to enlist in its ranks, to defend the country against all the destabilizing maneuvers of the imperialists and their lackeys.

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CSO: 3442/320

## KUNENE FARM PRODUCTION BARELY MEETS NEEDS

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 14 Mar 84 p 2

[Article by L. Luansi]

[Text] Since state agencies were installed in the area of Muholo, in Metola Municipio (Kunene Province), about 190 kilometers from Lubango, great efforts have been undertaken and the results in the agricultural sector lead one to believe that the people of Kunene are obviously seeking to move from subsistence agriculture into another scale.

According to 1983 data, agricultural production reached about 400 tons of various products, specifically, corn, "massango," "massambala" and beans.

The agricultural sector employs over 300 workers and supervises 3 production groups, in addition to organizing the peasants in associations through DNACA [National Directorate for Agricultural Cooperativization].

### Muholo AUP

Muholo is a village of about 140 displaced families, who now constitute an agricultural production unit [AUP], on the shore of the Kunene River. The major crop is corn.

With a labor force of about 181 workers, in 9 brigades, the Muholo AUP has 150 hectares of cultivated land.

At this time the workers at this production unit are engaged in preparing 30 hectares to plant potatoes and other vegetables.

One of the problems of the Muholo AUP is the shortage of farm equipment. The tractors at its disposal are in need of maintenance, and this is jeopardizing its production plans.

With the rains that have been falling in recent months in that region, the harvest looks promising, with an estimated yield of 2 tons per hectare. There are plans to build a poultry house in the middle of this year.

According to the group's leader, the unit has not even begun to meet the General Emergency Plan, because of the poor supply of seeds and the lack of specific directives.

## The Vissaca Camp

Vissaca is the area reserved for refugees from Kwankama and Namacunde Districts, who are almost all peasants. This area has about 85 hectares planted in corn, "massanga," "massambala" and beans. In addition to the collective farm, individual plots are also in evidence and they are showing great yields, despite the same shortage of fertilizers.

The local DNACA, in cooperation with the Secretariat of State for Social Affairs, has been carrying out a program of education and distribution of seed and agricultural materials to individual peasants.

## Livestock Production Insignificant

Formerly considered one of the pastureland provinces, Kunene's livestock production is not very encouraging now, as a result of the South African invasion in 1981.

Only 512 head of cattle survived this invasion. They are currently in Kipungo Municipio in neighboring Huila Province, and the reproductive cycle is far short of what it could be.

The infrastructures of the largest ranches (Xangongo and Minteke) were damaged or destroyed, and the armed bands of the puppet groups stole hundreds of head of cattle from both government and private herds. Other cattle are still roaming uncontrolled in the jungles, abandoned, and in great danger of such diseases as carbuncular infection.

During the most recent invasion in December 1983, the installations were destroyed at the Kuvelai Agricultural-Livestock Center, where reserves of cows and goats were maintained, and the material damages were enormous.

It is difficult to talk about rural marketing in Kunene Province, considering the almost constant tension in this part of our territory. Little or nothing has been done in this area.

Occasionally there are some ambulatory sales but the military situation in the region does not permit large-scale transactions.

Despite these factors, and although there is no surplus, the agricultural production in the province is just meeting the "immediate" needs of the refugee population.

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## BRIEFS

**BENGO FARMERS IDLE**--Bengo commune, in northern Cangola Municipio [Uige Province], with an estimated population of 16,171 inhabitants, is clamoring for more tools in support of its development. Located about 40 kilometers from the municipal seat, this community adjoins Malanje Province. Its principal crop is cassava, although it also produces a small amount of coffee. The commune, composed of 29 villages, is subdivided into 5 political sectors. It has 2 farm cooperatives and 16 peasant associations. However, their 3,400 members are virtually idle for want of farm implements, from the most rudimentary to manufactured equipment, and the lack of transportation and communication with the municipal seat. The situation is no better in the social area, particularly in the health area; there are not enough medicines to treat the people who seek remedies for their ailments at the medical stations. There are not enough teachers, schools, desks and educational materials for the number of students, which is larger than in previous years, thanks to the Angolan party and government policy which devotes special attention to education. Even with all these problems, life goes on in Bengo Commune, and the inhabitants have their eyes on the future, which will certainly be more promising. An obvious presence is the party organization. The JMPLA-Party Youth has 5 cells with 24 members, and the ONA [Organization of Angolan Women] has 680 women enrolled in its ranks. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 21 Mar 84 p 3] 6362

**FISHING UNITS INADEQUATE**--Faustino Muteka, commissioner of Namibe Province, visited the city [of Namibe] on Monday, where he toured the companies and production units attached to the Ministry of Fisheries. The visit began at the "Ermanal" ship repair company where, although he observed a shortage of lumber and power saws. Muteka felt the work was going well. Later, the provincial commissioner visited the Empromar Kalaar units for salt and dried fish, where he found that fish were rotting on the racks and in the tanks because of the "laissez faire" attitude of the directors of those units. Finally, the provincial commissioner visited some freezing plants, which are currently undergoing repairs, at Aurelio da Silva Baptista, a company under the provincial office of the Ministry of Fisheries. Last Saturday, as part of the program of visits to party and government structures in the municipal seat, Metuke, who is the party coordinator in Namibe, visited the headquarters of the local party committee, where he was received by Jose Gabriel Alberto, its coordinator. Muteka later toured the facilities and met with members of the Party Municipal Committee, at which time Jose Gabriel Alberto reported on the major problems of the party in the municipal seat. For this part, Faustino Muteka said that "despite the problems inherent in the process, the Party Committee of Namibe Municipio has known how to perform its role." [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 21 Mar 84 p 3] 6362

CSO: 3442/320

PARLIAMENTARY BUDGET SESSION ADJOURNS

MB151225 Gaborone Domestic Service in English 0508 GMT 14 Apr 84

[Text] The budget session of parliament adjourned sine die yesterday after meeting for 2 months, during which several questions were asked and several bills passed. During business yesterday, the income tax amendment bill of 1984 was passed after a third reading. After passing the bill, debate on the Financial Paper No 1 of 1984-85 detailing supplementary estimates for the development fund totalling 30,537,000 pula commenced.

Presenting the paper earlier in the week, the deputy minister of finance and development planning, Mr (Obeti Chilume), pointed out that in the financial paper approval was sought for the revision of 10 ongoing drought relief projects. Mr (Chilume) reminded the house that Botswana was in the 3d successive year of drought and that the situation was probably more serious than it was in the 2 previous years of drought. He said that the proposed relief measures had of necessity been expanded accordingly, adding that the main function of the drought relief is to alleviate water shorages for both human consumption and livestock.

He said that the committee which controls the funds comprises representatives from the ministries of Agriculture, Finance and Development Planning, Local Government, and Lands and Mineral Resources and Water Affairs. Minister (Chilume) added that the funds would be allocated to district councils for strengthening of council water units, which include the purchase of water transportation equipment and articulation of village water supplies. A portion of the fund will be set aside for assistance to agricultural groups outside villages. Mr (Chilume) further said that funds were also needed for the drought relief (?dispensing of chiefs') projects as well as facilitating introduction of improved farming techniques which, he said, would provide a cash incentive to farmers [words indistinct].

To account for inflation and other costs, the maximum payment has been raised from 40 pula to 50 pula per hectare, with a limit of 3 hectares per farmer. On the provision of draft power, he said that the project was created to enable resource poor farmers to hire their draft from tractor and cattle owners. Minister (Chilume) told the house that this project was poorly utilized last year due to the inability of some farmers to meet the 50 percent down payment. He added that consequently it was now proposed that the subsidy element be raised from 50 percent to 85 percent.

He added that farmers who grow plants would receive an additional planting incentive of 10 pula per hectare, up to a limit of 3 hectares, to assist with the planting costs. Mr (Chilume) also told the house that the labor-based relief projects which are usually short-term (?connected with the) public workers along with (?hand planting) of sorghum in school. He said the wage rate had been increased to 2 pula per day for ordinary workers, 3 pula per day for supervisors, and 1 pula per bucket in the (?hand planting) program.

CSO: 3400/866

## BANDA PLEASED WITH MALAWIANS' USE OF LAND

MB080912 Blantyre Domestic Service in English 0600 GMT 8 Apr 84

[Text] His excellency the life president, Dr Kamuzu Banda, has expressed his satisfaction that the people of Thyolo are making good use of the land he acquired for them from European settlers in the district. The life president was speaking yesterday at Luchenza after inspecting crops in the gardens of his people.

His excellency the life president said he was happy to note that the ordinary people are growing more tea, maize, bananas, and Macadamian nuts, as a result of which their living standards have tremendously changed for the better. He said with the money realized from the sales of their crops, the people are now able to buy good clothes and are building better houses in addition to have enough food.

The life president then explained how the European settlers acquired land from the people by bribing them with such items as beer, cloth, and sugar. He said what annoyed him most was that the indigenous people became slaves on the land the white settlers had expropriated through a system known as tangata [slave labor]. The life president told the gathering that just as he had broken the federation, he was also determined to destroy the system of tangata.

At this point, the life president said he was happy that the land he acquired for his people are now producing beautiful crops, such as tea, maize, and groundnuts.

Earlier, the life president commented on the welcome address by the district party chairman of Thyolo, Mr (Robert Damwe), who had said the life president has fulfilled the promises he made when he returned home in 1968. He recalled that during the fight against the federation, the colonialists, including some African chiefs, used to oppose him, saying his country was too poor to stand on its own economically. But the life president said at that time he had brought no money but what was needed to develop this country was hard work in the fields. He said he was happy that the people have responded favorably to his appeals for hard work, and as a result, the country has developed tremendously, contrary to his colonial opponents.

In this regard, his excellency the life president said he was happy that the people of Thyolo, like others elsewhere in the country, are living in harmony with people of other races. The life president, however, warned those Europeans, Asians and even coloreds who looked down upon Malawians. He reminded them that the Africans are in control of the government in this country and said anyone who is not willing to live in harmony with them should go back where he came from.

CSO: 3400/850

PRESIDENT'S SPEECH ON NATIONAL PRIORITIES

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 22 Mar 84 pp 4-6

[Speech by President Abdou Diouf before Economic and Social Council; date not given]

[Text] Mr President of the Economic and Social Council, Council Members:

The year 1983 was marked by a change in the situation proving once again the uncertainty that always governs planning. One can now observe better prospects on the international level with expanding economic recovery, especially in the United States.

And yet, the trend is contradictory, as demonstrated by the unpredictable movements of the American money and wide-ranging variations in prices of raw materials.

Unfortunately, Senegal has experienced a terrible drought that has thwarted the progress of our agriculture and worsened our difficulties. Nevertheless, this accident must not discourage us. On the contrary, we must pursue our policy of strictness in order to take advantage of the economic recovery now beginning throughout the world.

I shall begin by telling you of the encouraging results obtained this year within the framework of our economic and financial recovery plan.

However, this plan does not represent the end purpose of our policy inasmuch as it was imposed on us by the need to straighten up our accounts and rapidly regain the possibility of investing in production, improving employment, increasing family income and, for a country as exposed as our own to climatic risks, harnessing water.

That is why I shall devote the second part of this speech to the priorities of our development policy, to which we intend to devote the maximum resources.

As usual, I shall conclude by responding to the opinions formulated by your high assembly and forwarded to the government.



## I. Economic Situation in 1983 and Progress on Economic and Financial Recovery Plan

I shall begin with a quick review of the economic situation in 1983, which presents two quite distinct periods with a first six-month period marked by intense activity linked to the good agricultural results of 1982, followed by a catastrophic winter and poor crops.

I shall then review the results of the economic and financial recovery plan in 1983.

### Economic Situation in 1983

The year 1983, which began with a good campaign to market major products, ended with difficulty and concern, for the 1983 winter season was one of the worst our country has experienced since independence. In fact, one had to go south of a Kaolack-Tambacounda line to find adequate rainfall. North of that line, in contrast, the winter season ranged from mediocre to very bad and as a result, agricultural results were only acceptable in Casamance and the southern portion of the regions of Sine-Saloum and East Senegal. On the whole, rainfall appears to be short everywhere compared with the normal level from 1951 to 1980. It was even lower than during the great drought of 1972.

Under such conditions, the income of peasants and therefore, the activity of economic sectors directly linked to agricultural activity are or will be hard hit in the months ahead. It is against this background that one must analyze the economic situation starting with the second half of 1983 and running until the next harvest.

I shall confine myself to the presentation of a few indicators representing economic activity and inform you of the progress made last year, in spite of everything.

The essential fact for 1983 is definitely the drop in agricultural results depending on rainfall. Concerning industrial crops, the level of the harvests is an estimated 570,900 tons for peanuts going to the oilworks, 20,700 for eating peanuts and 30,500 tons for cotton. This production, in terms of the price paid to the producer, represents 43.5 billion CFA francs, while it was 81 billion the previous year, an apparent drop in income on the order of 86 percent.

While the drop is severe for income crops, it is catastrophic for food crops, with the exception of corn and, to a lesser extent, rice. The poor results of Casamance are nearly made up for by progress obtained in the irrigated areas of the SAED [expansion unknown]. But the millet and sorghum harvests fell to 350,000 tons, the lowest level since independence. The result is a worsening of our grain deficit and the need for 270,000 tons of food aid.

The effects of the drought are even worse for our livestock because they affect the very means of production and compromise the future of thousands of families. I shall simply indicate that by mid August 1983, losses in Senegalese herds

already amounted to 8 billion CFA francs. Our concern only grows with the coming of the long dry season that drives the Ferlo livestock breeders toward the south under uncertain conditions only worsened by the invasion of the territory by Mauritanian herds.

I shall also say a few words about the trend in other economic activities, some of which continued to show progress in 1983.

In the secondary sector, the index of industrial production in volume, which amounted to 118.6, fell to 94 by the end of September 1983, and the year 1984 will be very difficult for the oilworks and for the major consumer goods industries (food and beverages, textiles and leathers), whose activity closely depends on the level of farm income. The same will be true of transport and general commerce.

Fortunately, our economy is becoming more and more diversified and we are registering excellent results in tourism and fishing. Thus, the value of exports of sea products exceeded 50 billion CFA francs in 1983 and the subsector now rivals peanuts for first place in our foreign trade. The tourist sector has also done very well, particularly with completion of the Sali complex and of new facilities in Basse Casamance, bearing witness to the sustained growth of that activity.

On the whole, despite a difficult situation, the year 1983 will have been marked by new progress since our gross national product is now some 978 billion CFA francs, compared with 844 billion in 1982, a 16-percent increase in current francs.

In addition, the trend toward a stabilization of our foreign balance, which I mentioned last year, is now confirming itself and the still considerable deficit in our balance of payments should remain under 40 billion CFA francs, dropping to 30 billion in 1986, if one is to believe the projections made by the Planning Directorate of the Ministry of Economy and Finance.

The state of our trade balance remains a matter of concern, with a rate of cover of exports by imports of 61 percent at the end of 1983. Responsibility for this situation is to be found in the high level of purchases of oil products, equivalent to that of last year for a sum of 81 billion CFA francs, and food products, essentially rice, for a sum of 68 billion in CIF value. This disturbing result justifies, if there were any need to do so, the priority which the government now gives to the policy of food self-sufficiency.

As for our exports, the outstanding items this year were peanuts products, followed by fishing. But the trend toward a diversification of our economy is being confirmed and is spreading. Actually, several other types of production now support our foreign trade, such as phosphates, but cotton as well (up sharply) and ocean salt.

On the whole, this brief review of recent economic trends show the progress made, but incites us to continue our austerity effort about which I shall now speak to you.



## Economic and Financial Recovery Plan

For several years, our country has courageously applied its economic and financial plan, with the support of friendly countries and organizations. I shall not go back to the reasons causing the deterioration in balances of payments and the increasing foreign debt, even in developed countries. But I would remind you that every country has the duty to fight the causes of the crisis for which it is responsible, among which we find, in our country, the failure to master budget deficits, carelessness in the management of public finances, the outrageous growth of certain public investment programs and the mediocre results of several public companies or establishments.

But we were determined to react in time and consequently, we are now beginning to reap the initial benefits of our policy of rehabilitation.

I would remind you that the plan of economic and financial recovery is essentially aimed at the following objectives: reabsorption of the deficit of the government budget; liquidation of the domestic public debt; lightening of the burden of the foreign debt; and a return to the balance of the Price Stabilization and Equalization Fund, the main instrument of our policy of supporting farm income and defending the purchasing power of both rural and urban consumer.

In 1983, we obtained encouraging results on all the points I have just mentioned, which authorizes us to look to the future with greater hope.

First of all, I would point to execution of the budget during the fiscal year 1982-1983, which is characterized by a healthy level of receipts, greater than the initial budget and with a 16-percent increase over the preceding fiscal year, which prolongs the upward trend registered in the past 3 years. One must also note the new relative drop in personnel expenditures, which now represents only 49.7 percent of regular receipts, compared with 50 percent in 1981-1982 and 57.5 percent in 1980-1981. Finally, execution of the 1982-1983 budget was also marked by a slight increase in equipment spending, which nevertheless remains insufficient compared with the overall budget, of which it represents but 8.2 percent.

Turning to the 1983-1984 budget now being carried out, there might be a slowdown in receipts resulting from the poor agricultural results and the accompanying drop in household income. But we are continuing the effort undertaken by reducing equipment spending and continuing to apply strict control of the wage mass.

I now come to the second point of application of the recovery plan, aimed at liquidating the domestic public debt -- that is, the arrears of the government and public establishments. The minister of economy and finance is ensuring that no irregular commitment will be made in the future and that the volume of arrears will increase no further. This decision has been strictly applied since the month of July 1983.

I now turn to one of the main goals of the recovery plan, which concerns lightening the burden of the foreign debt. A great deal definitely remains to be done in this field, but Senegal wants to obtain new facilities thanks to agreements concluded within the framework of the Paris and London Clubs. The successive rescheduling measures have made it possible and will continue to make it possible to keep our debt at a tolerable level.

Something must be said about straightening out the accounts of the Price Stabilization and Equalization Fund. To do so, it was necessary to take measures increasing the prices of major consumer products. The government could no longer postpone these increases in the face of the catastrophic deterioration in the deficit of the Fund, which went as high as 30 billion CFA francs last year.

But the anticipated recovery took place because at the end of December 1983, the amount of the debt had fallen to 10 billion and we are awaiting total liquidation of the peanut deficit between now and the month of June 1984.

## II. Priorities of Our Development Policy

In January, I set forth the essential goals of our proposed society, which consist of obtaining employment, water and food, primary education, freedom and culture for everyone.

We must first turn to the problems of unsalaried employment, particularly in the rural world, encouraging the insertion of young people into productive projects.

In addition, the persistence of the drought requires that we make an exceptional effort to restore and protect nature and to create a water infrastructure.

We must also define more explicitly the main points of application of the rural reform, the center of our concern.

### Promotion of Nonsalaried Employment and Insertion of Rural Youth into Productive Projects

You are not unaware of the difficulties resulting from the arrival on the labor market of an increasingly large number of active young people, including many graduates. We have faced the challenge by applying original solutions so as to better respond to the expectations of those seeking jobs for the first time.

I would like to mention the success of the operation involving the insertion of those holding master's degrees, reported by the secretary of state for employment in his interview with LE SOLEIL on 5 March 1984.

The government has also begun wide-ranging actions aimed at rural young people, the leader being the Ministry of Social Development, which heads up the Permanent Operational Study and Consultation Group (GOPEC), as well as the Minor Rural Projects program.

I shall begin with a review of results and a presentation of the prospects of the Permanent Operational Study and Consultation Group (GOPEC), whose vocation is the insertion of young people into the economic circuits. Since 1978, GOPEC has financed 37 projects for a total of 422 million CFA francs, granted in the form of subsidies and loans on easy conditions helping young people in the subsectors of agriculture, market gardening, livestock raising, forest arboriculture, fishing and handicrafts.

But we are going to do more, taking advantage of the experience acquired over the past 5 years. GOPEC has therefore taken steps to finance 93 preliminary studies costing 1.7 billion and involving 5,489 young people throughout all the regions of Senegal. Henceforth, several aid organizations, both public and private, have announced their intention to participate in this ambitious program.

Alongside GOPEC, the government, together with the World Bank, has launched the so-called Minor Rural Projects program, which went into effect on 20 September 1980. Its main objective is to bring together the funds and services to make them available to peasant groups participating in the decision-making and management process, in keeping with the principles of our contractual policy. The program allocation amounts to \$14 million and concerns nearly 17,000 persons.

#### Reforestation and Protection of Nature

In order to wage an effective fight against desertification, we established in 1978 the Office of Secretary of State for Woods and Forests, which was followed in 1983 by the Ministry of Protection of Nature. This change in name and promotion to the rank of ministry expressed our determination, but above all, the new ministry would then be endowed with greater financial, technical and human means to accomplish its mission.

On the day marking the conclusion of the reforestation campaign, I had the opportunity to draw up the balance sheet of our accomplishments in 1983 and to present the main guidelines of our policies.

Our planting goals were 90-percent accomplished and despite the devastating lack of rain and poor distribution of rainfall, 9,800 hectares were planted out of the 11,000 planned. But the most interesting result is that the areas reforested by villages and communities exceed those done by the government, which turned out to be more costly and less effective.

The government is going to expand and diversify its action, having as its ambition the reforestation and protection of 30 percent of the national territory, or 6 million hectares. I would add that the immense task awaiting us is not within the grasp of an isolated nation, which is why I called a conference of ministers responsible for woods and forests from members of ECOWAS, the CILSS, the countries of the Maghreb and Sudan for May or June in Dakar. They will define a common regional strategy to fight expansion of the desert.

## Water Policy

With respect to water, we have already done a vast amount of work building and rehabilitating all kinds of facilities, exceeding the objectives we had originally set. I shall not emphasize the list of accomplishments, which are regularly made known to public opinion. However, I would stress that the number of electric wells will go from 198 in 1983 to 340 in 1984 and 477 in 1985, which reveals the progress made, but also the difficult problems of maintenance that will arise. Maintenance of the facilities and pumping equipment therefore constitutes a prime objective which we shall attain by increasing our means and reorganizing the Louga SOMH [expansion unknown]. In addition, through the well management committees, users will have to support public action by gradually taking over regular expenditures. However, it is indispensable for the management and operation of the facilities be governed by regulations bringing about the participation of users in a legal way. The minister of water resources is therefore working on an "order establishing terms for the participation of users in the operating expenses of national waterworks," which should be ready and published very soon and do away with the existence of splinter groups that might threaten our policy of democratic participation in water management.

## New Policy of Rural Development and Reform of Agricultural Credit

I now come to reform of the rural development policy and the establishment of the National Agricultural Credit Bank of Senegal.

The diagnosis of the deteriorating situation is sufficiently well-known and everything has been said, both by the government in the readjusted Sixth Plan document and by the countries and organizations seeking to help us.

What must be done now is to choose, then seriously evaluate the programs selected and finally and most importantly, actively seek the means needed for execution.

Having said that much, what are our proposals and what are the main priorities? Our reflections can be grouped in the following categories: reform of peasant organizations and reorganization of development companies; the movement toward food self-sufficiency through the promotion of local grains; rehabilitation of the peanut sector; and modernization of agricultural credit.

First of all, turning to the reform of peasant organizations, it will lead to the establishment of two major organizational models, which can coexist. On the one hand, we have the cooperatives, which correspond to the territorial branch of the rural community, but which are subdivided into village sections with their own activities and access to the Agricultural Credit Bank for the supplying of basic elements (seed, fertilizer and small implements) and, on the other hand, the producer groups which organize peasants around a common activity, with the status of "economic interest groups."

The other essential aspect of the reorganization of the rural world concerns the development companies, for which we are pursuing two objectives, to wit,

implementation of a contractual policy between the government and the companies through contract-plans and, to the extent possible, the rechanneling of the activities of the associations providing services toward production.

I shall now turn to the priorities of the new agricultural policy, which will be the subject of a more thorough analysis at a coming interministerial meeting.

With respect to food self-sufficiency, our project is aimed at intensifying and expanding the areas cultivated in local grain by acting on the different phases of this activity, from the selection of varieties to the processing of products. We must therefore finalize our work of reflection by proceeding to survey and evaluate projects, then choose some of them and finally, present requests for financing going to financial backers wishing to assist us.

I have already spoken of the rehabilitation of the peanut sector, announcing the encouraging results recorded this year, but we must return to a balance in the strategic link of that sector, which is the reconstitution of our seed capital, while guaranteeing fair distribution to the producers, which is not currently the case.

Finally, I am announcing the imminent creation of the National Agricultural Credit Bank of Senegal, whose constituent general assembly will be held in a few days. This bank represents the financial instrument indispensable to the relaunching of animal and plant production.

Its capital totals 2.3 billion francs and has been entirely underwritten. All local banks will participate, along with large private and semi-private national and international firms, the Central Bank of the West African States, the Central Fund for Economic Cooperation and the National Agricultural Credit Bank of France.

The necessary precautions have already been taken to ensure the success of the project since the bank will gradually extend to the entire country. I would add that the Agricultural Credit Bank will essentially finance productive projects and will grant two-thirds of the medium- and long term loans.

### III. Responses to Opinions of the Economic and Social Council

I shall conclude with an examination of the opinions expressed over the course of 1983.

The most important one concerns the proposed readjustment of the Sixth Plan. You first of all formulated general remarks that I believe are very pertinent, whether it be a question of the time it takes to transmit documents, the care to be given to presentation and drafting, the updating of statistical information or the preference to be given to local consulting firms.

Finally, like you, I attach the greatest importance to having counterpart funds for projects to be made available within the required amount of time, in order to have no more blockages in the allocation of financing.



You have also proceeded to review the different sectors of the economy, of which the authors of the plan made great use in drafting the readjustment.

Your assembly has examined two proposed orders relating to the classification of entrepreneurs and building enterprises that were passed in August 1983, after being amended in accordance with your recommendations, especially with respect to information to be given on the nature of the activities involved.

I have referred to you a bill abrogating and replacing certain provisions of Law 77-91 of 10 August 1977, encouraging the creation or expansion of small and medium-size businesses in Senegal. This law, commonly called the Minor Code, is, as you know, an indispensable instrument for the promotion and insertion of nationals into production circuits. Consequently, the bill has again been studied by the National Committee on Promotion of Economic Operators, before being reexamined at a coming interministerial meeting.

As for the proposed order establishing the schedule of prices for certain products and services, it has been reviewed in keeping with your suggestions. Services rendered by liberal professions organized into professional associations will not figure on the list of products and services submitted for the authoritarian setting of prices by the administration.

With respect to the proposed Sports Charter bill, I entirely approve of your recommendations, in particular, those dealing with the risks and accidents happening during competition or travel.

In addition, I congratulate you for having taken the opportunity to examine the proposal to develop your ideas on the current situation of sports in Senegal and suggest that you invite the minister of youth and sports to debate the matter with you more fully.

The Ministry of Commerce has drafted a bill on the regulation of commerce and the elimination of violations of economic legislation, as well as a proposed order of enforcement. The ministry in charge must review its proposals based on your recommendations.

As for the proposed order subjecting licensing contracts, agreements on transfers of technology, the surrendering and transmission of rights of industrial ownership, your assembly has issued a reservation of principle on the usefulness of this new regulation, considering that economic operators are sufficiently experienced to protect themselves against abuses. But since Senegal participates in the African Organization of Industrial Ownership, it owes it to itself to apply the Bangui recommendations asking every member state to institute a specific regulation. It is therefore desirable to pass this proposal, while making the modifications you recommend.

Mr President, Council Members:

I wish to conclude by appealing to all the live forces of the nation to support the policy of the leap forward defined by the chief of state. Our goal now

consists of emerging from the crisis as rapidly as possible and under the best possible conditions, so as to proceed to the modernization of our production apparatus and create the maximum number of jobs and greatest income.

I call on each citizen to participate in this common undertaking, being as demanding of himself as of the government. The latter must continue to set an example through the continuation of its efforts to reduce spending, make better use of public monies, fight waste, corruption and any kind of abuse.

I know I can count on all Senegalese to ensure the success of this thrilling undertaking, which is to improve the living conditions of everyone and assure the future of our youth.

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# REALITY OF SENEGAMBIAN CONFEDERATION EXAMINED

Dakar AFRICA in French Mar 84 pp 27-29

[Article by Maryse Condé: "Senegambia: What Kind of Reality?"]

[Text] Is it the destiny of Gambia, this strip of land deep inside Senegalese territory, where English is spoken and the lifestyle British, to be irreducibly alone? Is the Senegambian Confederation a reflection of reality? Maryse Condé looked and listened while touring that country, where Scandinavians in the nude bask on the beaches in search of a tan.

"The Gambia River is deep and muddy. Its banks are covered with mangrove trees and the country it irrigates appears flat and swampy.

Gambia has an abundance of fish. Some of the species are excellent, but I do not remember seeing a single one which is known in Europe. Sharks are very common at the mouth of the river and crocodiles and hippopotamuses may be found further upstream."

That is what Mungo Park, a Scot, wrote in 1795 while ascending the Gambia River to discover the direction of the Niger's flow. When he arrives in Zinguinchor, the modern traveler has plenty of time to meditate on the fate of that explorer and of Ca Da Mosto before him, a Venetian nobleman at the service of the king of Portugal, for almost a whole day can go by before he can board a slow-moving ferry boat, crowded with trucks, private cars and utilitarian vehicles with bundles on top. It is a fact that the simple crossing is the occasion for crooked trafficking. Gambian policemen in dark blue uniforms literally exact ransom from the passengers. Too bad for those who do not pay the required tip; they run a strong risk of spending the night on the river bank, among the mangroves! No one dares to protest! A resigned crowd of drivers and pedestrians seat at small cafés run by Guineans who have fled their native country and are consoling themselves by listening to Youssou Nadir, as popular on one side of the river as on the other. The foreigners are the only ones to grow impatient. Why is not a bridge built? "Gambia is the one opposed to it, because it collects all the taxes perceived for passage and use of the ferry. You know, it is its main source of revenues." These statements reflect rather well the Senegalese's feelings toward Gambia and the Senegambian Confederation: A dupes' bargain! They feel as though they are dealing with partners they cannot trust. "They do not like us, you know! The British colonized them to the hilt!"



## Turned Toward the United Kingdom

One thing is sure, from a Senegalese viewpoint, the first impression garnered from Gambia, even confederate, is that of a foreign country. To be sure, this does not come from the landscape, but from the officials' uniforms, their bearing, the merchants' junky goods, i.e., Lifebuoy, Horlicks and Bourneville soaps, ginger cakes, etc, straight from a Sainsbury or a Boots.

It is with an imperturbability copied on that of the British that customs agents and policemen force the passengers of a taxi to open all their suitcases. Banjul has also the charm of former British colonial cities, from New Delhi to Accra. Bank clerks wear hard collars and ties; there are fast food chains where ketchup is king; and public buildings are meticulously clean. A trained eye, however, detects very quickly the impact of the crisis affecting the country. First of all, the Gambians have given up their favorite passtime, namely, emptying mugs of stout or light ale. The unemployed gather in the many public parks, scanning the newspapers. School children wear tattered uniforms and are often walking barefoot on poorly paved and maintained streets. Lenrie G. is the president-director general of a prosperous laundry business. His older children are studying in London schools, for, he says, "Gambian schools dispense only a second-rate education. To be sure, until now, we have always turned to England. Let us not forget that it was at the mouth of this river that the English set up their first African trading post! Whether we want to or not, ties were made. The Senegalese? I do not believe they are our brothers, despite ethnic resemblances. They too were marked by their privileged status with France and they have interiorized values and attitudes which are not ours. The Confederation? It is a political and, above all, a commercial tool aimed at ending smuggling!"

## Brothel

Most Gambians agree with those statements! The presence of Senegalese troops appear as the very symbol of the coup following which the Senegalese "imposed" their viewpoint. David K. is blunt about it: "Gambia has always had strong opposition movements with a Marxist leaning. Our leaders decided to unite with their Senegalese counterpart who were also worried about this ideological invasion. That is all there is to it. Has anybody told you about Gambian guerrillas? Some sought refuge in Guinea-Bissau. Others remained near."

Still, does not this 30-km wide and 300-km long strip of land appear as an anachronism to its very inhabitants? "No. The question to redraw the frontiers inherited from the colonization never arose. Why should it be different with regard to Gambia? That land has a history."

Yet, could not the Confederation be considered an embryo for continental unity, a first step toward the establishment of Pan-Africanism in the region? James R., the manager of a first class hotel, declares: "Nonsense. The Confederation was the result of a coup. It is a commercial operation without idealism. The sad part is that nothing changed. You see these boats? Do you know what they carry and where the goods will be sold? Unfortunately, the Confederal Parliament that was set up is expensive and instead of enabling us to develop, this Confederation impoverishes us even further!"

At that moment, a group of tourists come upon the scene. They are neither French nor English, but Swedes who have made Gambia their favorite country. They practice nudism on the beaches, to the greatest pleasure of Gambian idlers who have never seen so much white skin. "It is extremely hypocritical to complain about the tourist invasion. First, in this period of economic recession, they bring in foreign exchange. Here in Gambia, we do not have first class international hotels like in Senegal. In most cases, they are national private ventures. Furthermore, in countries like ours, where going without cloths has never been considered obscene, why blame those people for seeking contact with the sun?"

To be sure, the Swedes, Danes and Netherlanders who tromple the sand of our beaches are not depriving themselves from that contact. As for knowing, as some believe, whether they go further in their explorations, there is no proof of it. "The proof? What proof do you want? Gambia has become the brothel of Scandinavia."

The person making this statement is a Senegalese. He set up a fabric shop on the Grand-Rue in the 1960s, but he persists in feeling that he does not belong. "Agree, we have the same names; we speak the same language; we honor the same gods; and yet, we are different!" He goes on to cite helter-skelter the Senegalese's Muslim orthodoxy, their family feeling and their respect of the law, sentiments supposedly alien to the Gambians. In short, it seems that the communities are separated by a mistrust that political directives will not readily erase.

Scandinavians are not the only tourists to flock to Gambia. Since Alex Haley supposedly found his ancestors there, Black Americans have been landing in throngs. "They bring in as a group as much revenue as cigarette smuggling," jeers an interlocutor. They want guides and cars to take them to their "native" villages. They are not discriminatory about the souvenirs they buy. They do not bargain. Black Americans willingly photograph streets and peanut or bean fritter vendors and hand out T-shirts to teenagers. When night fall, they meet the Swedes and all the Gambians badly in want of exotism in a dance hall located on a moored liner. The owner, Nils A., came to Banjul, then called Bathurst, in 1973 and fell in love with the place.

#### What Confederation?

Those who do not like him assert that he is a drug dealer. "Are you talking about smuggling? It is now almost non-existent in the Confederation. It has been replaced by drug dealing. To be sure, it has always existed; but over the years, it has acquired an unprecedented scope!"

One feels good in that night club. A Senegalese band plays tunes from Casamance. There is champagne on all the tables. Nils A. pokes fun: "It is the best gift bestowed by the Confederation. Before, champagne was out of reach. Now, it is practically free. On the other hand, English drinks have doubled in price. As for me, I prefer champagne to whiskey. Too bad!"

Maybe someone should start speaking seriously about that Senegambian Confederation. What has been its impact on the economy? Specifically, how has it been implemented? All these questions remain unanswered. Will there be a unification of educational programs? Exchanges in the media, television and radio? Agricultural cooperation? Will the two countries fight together against the drought calamity? Daouda T. is in his office, decorated with portraits of his presidential namesake and the queen of England. He is in charge of educational reforms in which, he asserts, French and Senegambia will be compulsory subjects. "You know, it is strange to note that the first colonists were more sensitive to their unity than we are today. The river region cannot be differentiated from Senegal, in view of the populations' linguistic unity on either side of the "frontiers." All the harm comes from Banjul, long privileged by its administrative and geographic position, for it identifies with the English and it benefited formerly from a particular status because of Cape St Mary. Gambian farmers are happy with the establishment of the Confederation. There is no problem for them. The price of peanuts is the only thing that counts!"

"On the other hand," he adds, "those who say that the Confederation was the result of a coup and is only a commercial venture misrepresent the truth. Diawara spoke about a confederation as soon as he replaced Nije after the 1962 general elections. It is an old dream which takes a geographic reality into account."

Muktar D., who supervises the Party Youth, delivers the same speech. "The Confederation is our future. Look at the Gambia River, one of Africa's most navigable rivers. It was neutralized by the borders which confine it and Senegal's policy consisted in developing two export ports, Kaolack and Ziguinchor, at the expense of such a well equipped complex. It will expand it!"

Gambians, dressed in white, play cricket on public park lawns. It is a far cry from Dakar's ambiance! Charles T., who is a recognized poet in addition to being a doctor, is sitting at the terrace of his villa with a cup of tea in front of him. "There has never been anybody interested in the history of this country, yet, it exists, for Gambia is a country. Our trade unions, which the authorities were unable to silence despite their efforts, are molded on those of Ghana, obviously, before its decline. Remember the dockers' role in the labor conflicts prior to the independence. If ties must be established, they must be with Sierra Leone, Ghana and, above all, Nigeria! We came from the same colonial mold, so to speak. No one here believes in the Confederation. It was only a means of creating super-ministers whose effectiveness still remains to be proved. Talks and summit meetings are all we have to show!"

We must confess that such comments give little hope for the future and survival of the Confederation. It does seem to have arose from a political desire. Ali G., an agricultural expert, one of the first members of Senegambian technical cooperation, is, however, optimistic: "What language do you hear spoken the most around us? Wolof, is it not so? I rest my case."

REPORTAGE ON RND-PLP SPLIT

PLP Leader Faces Press

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 13 Mar 84 p 2

[Article by Amadou Fall: "Babacar Niang, Leader of the PLP, Faces Press"]

[Text] Babacar Niang yesterday made public his decision to occupy the seat left vacant in the National Assembly by the secretary general of the Democratic National Rally (RND), Shaykh Anta Diop, considered to have resigned since 24 February. Niang was automatically appointed because he was in second place on the list presented by the RND in the legislative elections of 27 February 1983, although he is currently the leader of another political party, the People's Liberation Party (PLP). He spoke to national and international press yesterday about the reasons leading him to Place Tascher.

"They are in keeping with the democratic standards governing the People's Liberation Party," he hinted. Niang explained that in accordance with the principle of "always thinking and acting in terms of the majority," public opinion has been polled and the PLP called into conference on 10 March. Following that congress, 49 out of the 51 delegations present reportedly came out in favor of the PLP representation in the National Assembly.

It was therefore in terms of that resolution that Niang responded favorably to the letter from the president of the National Assembly asking him to occupy the seat that was "legally bequeathed" to him in the Place Tascher chambers. He believes that it is "a fair decision. The PLP must use the platform of the National Assembly to affirm its positions and be the spokesman of the people, expressing their complaints."

Asked to give his personal position on the timeliness of the PLP's representation in the National Assembly, he told the press that even if he were not in agreement with the decision made by the PLP on this subject, "the principle of democracy would have forced him to respect the will of the majority." Is this not then in contradiction with his positions on the holding of the February 1983 elections, which he called "fraudulent" when he was a member of the National Democratic Rally? Niang sees no contradiction in his current actions because he does not believe that it can "take anything away from the criticisms formulated about past legislative and presidential elections."



In his opinion, the situation has now changed all the more because the "goal of protesting and denouncing election fraud and rigging has generally been achieved."

However, Niang recognizes that institutional realities a government and a National Assembly, has emerged from those elections and "must be taken into account." He nevertheless remains convinced that "if the elections had been held under normal conditions, the National Assembly would have a different makeup." For him, the fight to be waged in this context is for "revision of the election code that allowed the fraud" which he had to denounce.

Niang also says that he had "no feeling of discomfort" about the leader of the RND. He recalls that his choice to sit in the National Assembly does not stem from an isolated decision. Rather, it is the culmination of a process whose point of departure is the factional struggle that brought about his exclusion from the National Democratic Rally. From Niang's explanations, it emerges that "a faction engaged in splinter tactics within the party, contrary to the tactical line adopted by the RND following the elections: to radicalize the mass struggle while strengthening cohesion and discipline within the party." He justifies the creation of the PLP by this need to remain faithful to the "fight to relieve the suffering of the Senegalese people."

How? The National Assembly will not be the sole means used to continue the fight. "We must change the orientations of the policy and the national economy. Our role is to help the people organize to be responsible and impose the will for change that motivates them, without rioting, on the path of legality." Those are the concepts developed by Niang yesterday.

However, Niang, who has decided to turn his entire remuneration from the Assembly over to his party's coffers, "will not allocate a single day's work to help the rural world." Why? In his opinion, the problem has not been posed properly. He believes that we must "act with serious intentions" and that in order to help relieve the suffering of the rural world, "there was no need to turn over one or two months' salary. We quite simply had not to proceed to an unjustified increase in the prices of basic products." He finds it contradictory that one should want to go to the rural world's aid while "reducing the price of a kilogram of peanuts!"

Questioned about the PLP's position on the "national consensus" and the "recovery charter" proposed by Abdou Diouf and Abdoulaye Wade, Niang indicated that his party favors any appeal for the recovery of the ship Senegal which is floundering and would agree to gather around a table alongside all leaders of political parties to define the conditions for change.

The leader of the PLP rejected the idea of seeing members of his organization participate in the current government, however, "because it is not possible to cooperate with a government that is responsible for the evils from which the country is suffering."

Asked to give his feelings on the religious fundamentalist movement now developing in Senegal, Niang said that it is a "phenomenon that we shall have to

analyze with great calmness." In his opinion, one must not "cast stones at those wanting to Islamize a regime, given the fact that others demand a secular government."

#### Reasons for RND-PLP Split

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 13 Mar 84 p 3

[Report on interview with Abd El Kader Boye, by Moustapha Mbodi]

[Text] Among the former members of the National Democratic Rally, from which the People's Liberation Party emerged, we were able to talk only with Abd El Kader Boye, who gave us his immediate reaction.

"Following the crisis, I decided to leave the RND and not go over to the PLP," said Prof Kader Boye, with whom we met yesterday and whom many Senegalese "wrongly" considered to be Niang's second-in-command in the new party formed (the PLP).

Actually, he said, following that noisy meeting of the RND Political Bureau that decided to expel Babacar Niang and to suspend Ablaye Kane temporarily, "a committee of intellectuals from the (RND) Party that I headed, including, among others, Pathe Diagne, Lo and Gallo, signed a petition addressed to the board (and made public), calling a special congress for clarification and reconciliation."

Following the refusal we received, I stated verbally to Prof Shaykh Anta Diop that I had resigned from his party and asking him to so inform the Political Bureau, Boye continued. "When one's mission is to gather people together, one cannot belong to a splinter group." In his opinion then, what explains the breakup of the RND and the birth of the PLP? "I only know part of what happened, but I have made it my duty not to speak of it until the situation has cleared up." He continued: "Often, it is old quarrels that go far back and that come to the surface, undermining political parties, quarrels which the younger generations have absolutely nothing to do with."

What complicated the RND problem, Boye indicated, is that it was infiltrated by all the political parties, which may have helped poison the situation. But above all, in his opinion, our politicians throughout history have not learned to forget their old quarrels, which has hurt democracy.

In general, Boye says, there is a definite danger threatening democracy as soon as the crisis actually spares no party and the political groups can then no longer play their role. "But what is there to fight about?" we asked him. "There is a battle over ideas that seems to be relegated to a secondary level, ideas on how to get the country out of the economic, financial and moral crisis it is going through." For example, he said, there is the development of a religious fundamentalism against which no democratic force has yet made a stand.

As for the fact that Babacar Niang, leader of the PLP, might replace Shaykh Anta Diop of the RND in the National Assembly, even if, at the time of the February 1983 legislative elections, he was in second place on the RND list. Boye, who is a professor of law at the university, believes that if the Assembly's bylaws so permit, nothing can oppose him. But this all brings up basic political problems, he adds. "What I would say is that we must truly rethink the concept one has of political parties in Senegal, if we want to save democracy."

#### People's Liberation Party

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 13 Mar 84 p 3

[Text] The People's Liberation Party (PLP) is the 15th political party to be formed in Senegal. It was created on 31 August 1983 by dissidents from the National Democratic Rally led by Babacar Niang, excluded from the party for "splinter tactics." The founders of the PLP reproach Shaykh Anta Diop for having "insufficiently developed the RND and for having led people to believe that the latter was not a valid framework of struggle."

Consequently, the PLP took up and updated the RND program, setting the same objective of "restoring to the people their dignity, to Senegal its sovereignty, and building a new national, democratic, people's state." As indicated by the manifesto drafted by PLP founders, it went into action to set up a "new party with sound men that is not a framework for the expression of abstract ideas, but an instrument suitable for effectively organizing the fight to relieve the suffering and frustrations of the Senegalese people and open up (for the PLP) prospects removing it from mediocrity and submissiveness."

On the date of the official recognition of the PLP, 13 September 1983, the Office of Executive Secretary of the party was made up of the following: secretary general, Babacar Niang; deputy secretary general, Abdoulaye Kane; general treasurer, El Hadj Tafsir Mbengue; organizational secretary, Babacar Khalifa Dieye; secretary for propaganda and political education, Abdoulaye Diene; secretary for international relations, Tidiane Baidy Ly; press and information secretary, Nafissatou Diouf; administrative secretary, Momar Sourang.

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DIOP SPEAKS OUT ON GOVERNMENT SEAT

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 16 Mar 84 p 4

[Article by Amadou Fall]

[Text] As Shaykh Anta Diop so forcefully stated yesterday, the seat now occupied by Babacar Niang "does not belong to a person, but to a party. The government does not have the right to give it to a militant not with the RND" [Democratic National Rally]. He clearly believes that the usurpation is manifest and that the situation thus created "is a dangerous case for the political group now in power because it could turn against it."

The RND nevertheless stands firm on its positions, for "from the standpoint of political ethics and the sense of honor motivating the party, it would not be legitimate to go to the National Assembly" [text not clear]. Shaykh Anta Diop, who made the remarks, remains convinced that the legislative and presidential elections of 27 February were but a "big farce" and that there was even "concertation in high places so that the representation of the RND would not correspond to its true support among voters. Even the opposition parties were against the party." The RND made the most of this affront, according to its leader.

Shaykh Anta Diop recalls that following the elections, he was not the only one to denounce the "election fraud," wondering at the same time about the "thundering statements" at that time. In his opinion "the front of refusal has been reduced to the seat of refusal." Of Babacar Niang, "excluded from the RND for splinter tactics" and now leader of the People's Liberation Party (PLP), he would say, with an ironic smile, "I wish him good luck."

But now that his resignation from the National Assembly is effective, does he not have the feeling of having "betrayed" the hopes of his voters? For Shaykh Anta Diop, the opposite is true, for it is "out of respect for the thwarted votes of RND members that this decision not to sit in Parliament was made."

Will the RND finally move from the stage of rally to that of party? Shaykh Anta Diop poses the problem in another way: The RND is actually a party with its discipline and its policies. "It is," he says "a party that poses problems in their continental perspective. When one reaches that level, one cannot engage in class segregationism."



The leader of the RND has not let himself be dragged into the "trivial political debate" when the question of reducing the term of the president of the National Assembly from 5 years to 1 was taken up yesterday, as one might have expected. He confined himself to saying that "one must legislate in complete calmness, instead of making custom-made laws. That is what will strengthen our institutions. That is our sole concern."

The problem of the rise of religious fundamentalism in Senegal is viewed with great reservations by Shaykh Anta Diop because the "RND is not a party that plays with religion. If some intellectual should happen to do so, he should think of the consequences. Religion is one thing and politics another."

For Shaykh Anta Diop, the Senegalese people would disappoint the world by engaging in religious discrimination, especially since our constitution requires that we take all views into account. For its part, "the RND, which defends the principle of the secular nature of the state, would be wrong to engage in religious discrimination."

However, the leader of the RND expresses his skepticism of the "charter of national recovery" recommended by Wade and Abdou Diouf's "national consensus." In his opinion, the RND "has the right, with opposition parties and all the moreso with the socialist parties, to demand a code of conduct," this in order not to repeat the failure of the Front of Refusal.

For Shaykh Anta Diop, the unemployment of the young and the looting of our ocean resources are problems that will find solutions only within the framework of an African development policy. In his opinion, it will also be necessary "to promote national languages in order to awaken the builder of nations slumbering in every young African!"

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# PRESERVING UNITY IN CNTS FOR FROLUDES

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 20 Mar 84 p 3

[Article by Momar Seyni Ndiaye: "Safeguarding Unity"]

[Text] To say that the crisis has erupted again within the National Confederation of Senegalese Workers (CNTS), following the expulsion of Alioune Sow and Ibrahima Gueye, leaders of the Front of Struggle for Trade Union Democracy (FROLUDES), would be somewhat exaggerated. Nevertheless, one has to admit that two years after the spectacular victory of the Renewal at the special congress of 17 and 18 April 1982, the confederation is having difficulty achieving total unity. Moreover, it is illusory to believe that the victory of the Renewal would have made it possible to bury past differences and forget grudges, not that the new trade union leadership did not apply democratic principles, but because confrontations in the plants and at the Labor Exchange were such that they left deep scars, before, during and after the congress.

On the very evening of the meetings, the supporters of faction A, headed by retiring secretary general Babacar Diagne, had boycotted the work of the meetings, deeming that the distribution of responsibilities among the bureau was unrelated to their representation. At the time of the congress, faction A had gathered nearly 510 votes, compared with 740 for the Renewal, along with a large number of trade union branches. Consequently, Diagne demanded in the hierarchy of the confederation bureau a post in keeping with his trade union strength, while in the position reserved for him, he would be in fifth place.

Unsuccessful, the followers of faction A left the room. Consequently, they maintained the split, while remaining in the CNTS. However, this time it was Alioune Sow who came to the forefront leading the FROLUDES, which was essentially based on the trade union organizations that remained loyal to faction A, in this case, livestock raising, insurance, the polygraph industries, government chauffeurs, railroad workers, the chemical industries and the textile industries, among others.

One has to say that with the help of time, passions cooled down somewhat, even though the leaflets denouncing the lack of democracy in the new confederation bureau and errors in management increased in number. Wishing to preserve trade union unity, the new leaders did not attach particular importance to these statements. But as usual, the approaching 1 May festivities revived grudges.

The FROLUDES, which had organized very well, was able, although in a minority position, to bring a large number of organizations under its banner last year. One could justifiably wonder whether truly the absence of trade union democracy against which it was protesting was real, or whether its opposition was simply based on subjective motivations.

Past this period of euphoria and demonstrations of strength, FROLUDES leaders were once again readmitted into the leadership organs of the confederation, before being kicked out for "splinter tactics" and "the dissemination of libelous tracts." After performing their "self-criticism," based on the terms of the secretary general of the CNTS, they were reintegrated into the confederation bureau, only to be expelled later. How is one to explain these constant reconciliations and divorces? Is there a constant violation of the principles of trade union democracy or is one facing a union which chooses its leaders poorly and who cannot come to an understanding, even though in the same confederation and affiliated with the same party?

#### Lesson

It is true that the dissemination of discourteous tracts is not likely to preserve "family ties." This time, the subject of the dispute over the failure to return workers' dues, of which the FROLUDES is accused, gives another dimension to the conflict. At any rate, this is an opportunity for the FROLUDES to follow its determination to become totally independent and especially to refuse to consider the confederation bureau as an emanation of the workers, relegating it to the rank of a faction. The experience of the Renewal inspired the FROLUDES, which recalled that Madia and his men had since 8 February 1981 become a faction powerful enough to lead the Socialist Party to create a tripartite inter-trade union committee, accepting them as such. Madia had rallied 25 federations at the time, before demanding and obtaining the holding of a special congress, which witnessed his victory.

But while it is proved that Babacar Diagne, Shaykh Dieye, Baytir Mbaye, Djoulde and others no longer follow Alioune Sow, one then has to consider his deployment as an isolated act, thereby limiting the real scope of the impact which his movement would have had if he had still had the support of the latter. Nevertheless, one has to wonder whether the expulsion of Alioune Sow and Ibrahima will settle the problem of the split threatening the CNTS, which so needs unity to respond to the expectations of workers.

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CSO: 3419/551

MAIN AGRICULTURAL REGION OF SINE-SALOUM HIT BY DROUGHT

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 17-18 Mar 84 p 19

[Article by Papa Mor Sylla]

[Text] "Helping us to help ourselves": This could be the watchword of Sine-Saloum's participation in the solidarity campaign to aid the rural world.

It is a campaign of special significance in this predominantly agricultural region, which better than any other feels the effect of the disaster created by drought. In addition, the very heart of the peanut basin has been hit and beyond the heavy blows dealt to its economy, the people need aid to be able to participate in the coming field work.

This is consequently the meaning that must be given to the solidarity operation that is taking on national scope, for while farm production has dropped here, in other areas peasants have not even been able to plant their seed, lacking the tiniest drop of rain. We are therefore concerned by this solidarity that is now beginning to take on momentum with the different contributions received for the past month. A remarkable effort is underway, but a great deal remains to be done to reach the 100 million making up the regional quota before 31 March.

The leading agricultural region of Senegal, Sine-Saloum, the heart of the peanut basin, has suffered greatly this year from the lack of rain. According to official figures, the damage amounts to 60 percent, without including the livestock mortality rate of an estimated 10 percent.

The sad situation of agriculture and livestock raising is much better illustrated by the decline in economic activities. Kaolack, the regional capital, should at this time of the year be swarming with rural people who, following three months of hard labor, come to make the purchases they have dreamed of. Trade once flourished, but this year, it is worse than stagnant. The shopkeepers are sleeping in their stores for want of customers.

Where peanut production once totaled 350,000 to 400,000 tons in a normal year, harvests this year yielded but 181,000 tons. Millet production fell from 600,000 tons to 136,000 tons, a dizzying drop that even distorted the calculations of experts, who were shown the true extent of the damage by the end of

the peanut and millet marketing season, comparable to that of the very poor year of 1980. Rainfall is lower than in 1980 and the poor harvest that was obtained resulted from a revision of the type of crops planted. The fact remains, however, that the peasants will have no problem with seed during the next season because the supply of 51,800 tons has been built up through great effort. The region will even be able to send 17,000 tons of seed to other regions totally without.

It has also been a hard year for livestock, with a loss of 10 percent of the 550,000 head of cattle in the region. Unprecedented cases of physical suffering have been observed, for the animals have lost substantial weight, resulting in a major meat shortage. The principal cause remains the lack of pasture which, above and beyond the inadequate rainfall, is explained by the loss of area left in pasture because of systematic cultivation of the land, a noteworthy presence of *tanns* [presumably ranches], especially in the Department of Fatick, and transhumant herds from the regions of Diourbel, Louga, Fleuve and the Islamic Republic of Mauritania. In addition, there has not been an adequate supply of fodder because not only do some farmers not worry enough about it, but the straw from one type of peanut, such as 55-437, is not suitable for animals such as goats.

Already worrisome, the situation of regional livestock became dramatic as a result of the transhumance. The migration of foreign animals to the region made pasture even more scarce, threatening the very emergency reserves. Sine-Saloum, which heeded 3,000 tons of feed, now needs much more because of the new livestock. In addition, in the opinion of the head of the regional department of livestock and animal production, studies made in October leading to the Livestock Rescue Operation (OSB) now must be revised because the regions suffering the most damage can handle no more livestock at all. Moustapha Dia believes that Sine-Saloum will have to have even more livestock feed or the rate of mortality, which in September was 10 percent, may easily go as high as 35 percent in April.

#### Hope Gone

But while hope for the survival of the livestock essentially depends on feed from the government, the livestock inspector nevertheless believes that regulating peanut straw trade could be one solution. The region is suffering a veritable drain because the peasants are trying to make the straw take the place of their loss on peanuts. In addition, he recommended the sale of oil cakes from Lyndiane to livestock breeders in the region before proposing any reconversion of *tanns* into fodder production areas.

With respect to both agriculture and livestock raising, Sine-Saloum is far from being the Eldorado it once was. In the rural areas, many hopes have gone up in smoke, but the situation is not desperate.

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MINISTER OF ARMED FORCES VISITS CASAMANCE

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 20 Mar 84 p 8

[Article by M. S.]

[Text] "Our armed forces deployed in the southern zone have the operational capability of fulfilling their triple permanent mission: defense of our borders, defense of our national integrity and unity and assistance to and protection of the Senegalese people."

This observation was made by Minister of the Armed Forces Medoune Fall at the close of his 48-hour visit to Casamance, within the framework of a routine inspection mission of the armed forces units located at various points of the national territory.

"My visit to this region to inspect the 5th Battalion is unrelated to the sporadic problems that have recently occurred in Casamance. We have not come for the purpose of pacification," Fall declared in substance.

Saying he had had the feeling that nothing at all had happened in Casamance, after his visit of the points said to be the most sensitive, the minister of the armed forces did indicate that everywhere he found the people to consider themselves full Senegalese, on the same basis as their brothers from Saint Louis, Dakar, Kaolack, and so on.

Citing the case of Oussouye, Fall said he had been particularly struck and surprised, in a positive way, by the welcome reserved for him by the people from the commune who, through their mayor, confirmed that they belonged to the Senegalese nation, one and indivisible.

For Fall, there were two reasons for his satisfaction: "First of all," he said, because of Oussouye Diola, who is usually said to be at the head of the independence movement. Next, I was received by the people led by their mayor, an elected official of the opposition PDS [Senegalese Democratic Party], who made a speech so filled with praise that I even wondered if it was truly the PDS mayor who was coming to speak to a representative of the government in power."

Of his meeting with King Oussouye, whom he labeled as a very intelligent man informed of events and happenings, Fall revealed that he had had the pleasure of being with a man who considers himself more than ever a full Senegalese.

The minister of the armed forces then said that the people of Casamance feel particularly Senegalese, perhaps like any other. It is their membership in the Senegalese nation, he said, that they showed in many ways.

During this tour of Casamance, Fall, accompanied by the chief of staff of the armed forces and a large delegation of officers from the armed forces and the gendarmerie, successively visited the command post of the southern military region, that of the gendarmerie company, the 5th Battalion of Ziguinchor, the 3d CTG [expansion unknown], the 1/25th PRA [expansion unknown], the Bignona Gendarmerie Brigade and the military post of Santhiaba-Manjacque, before paying his respects to the tomb of Corp Francais Socbry.

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BRIEFS

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS--National Assembly members will henceforth be elected for a year and may be reelected upon the recommendation of bureau members. The bill, submitted by 89 deputies, will reduce the term of the president from 5 years to 1 and was passed by a majority of the deputies present yesterday at the plenary session of the second special session of the Sixth Legislature. A total of 107 deputies voted for the bill, 7 against, with no abstentions. [Text] [Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 16 Mar 84 p 2] 11,464

PRESS AGENCY RECEIVES EQUIPMENT--The SENEGALESE PRESS AGENCY (APS) will now be able to quadruple its speed of transmission thanks to a shipment of equipment it has just received from UNESCO. The equipment includes four page receivers, four perforated tape receivers (entirely electronic and silent), an omnidirectional antenna, plus a coaxial cable. It is the first lot of equipment acquired by the APS as part of the International Program for the Development of Communication (PIDC). With this equipment, costing 10 million CFA francs, the APS will also be able to receive and choose foreign agencies other than AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE and REUTERS (Great Britain). [Excerpts] [Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 16 Mar 84 p 5] 11,464

GERMAN CREDIT FOR ICS--A ceremony was held at the Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs yesterday for the signing of a financial cooperation agreement totaling 1.65 billion CFA francs. Representing Senegal was Mamoudou Toure, minister of economy and finance, and signing for the Federal Republic of Germany was Ambassador Norbert Lang. The agreement will enable the German Company for Finance Investments in Developing Countries (DEG) to grant a loan to the Chemical Industries of Senegal (ICS), with the right of conversion up to a sum not exceeding the countervalue of 10 million German marks (or 1.65 billion CFA francs). A contract is to be concluded between the DEG and the ICS to spell out how the money is to be used and the terms of the agreement. [Excerpt] [Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 16 Mar 84 p 6] 11,464

CSO: 3419/551



## SOUTH AFRICA

### SA ARMS DEVELOPMENT, SELF-SUFFICIENCY

Pretoria BEELD in Afrikaans 8 Mar 84 p 6

[Report by Military Correspondent: "SA's Arms Among the Best; Only Those of the USA and the Soviet Union are More Extensive"]

[Text] Few countries--possibly only the United States and the Soviet Union--have as much depth in their arms arsenals as does South Africa, said Commander P.G. Marais, chairman of Krygkor, to BEELD in a telephone interview from Santiago, Chile, yesterday.

Commander Marais heads the Krygkor team which is exhibiting a great variety of advanced arms at the international air exhibition Fida '84 in Santiago.

"France and the Federal Republic of Germany make more refined arms, but those states have to import raw materials and parts. Only the United States, the Soviet Union and South Africa are capable of entirely making a wide spectrum of arms, from the mining of the ore through the final completed weapon," he said.

#### Ammunition

Commander Marais referred to South Africa's advanced G 5 cannon. The ore is mined in South Africa, processed at Yskor, and all the parts of the cannon are designed and manufactured in South Africa. "The process gives great depth to our arms industry," he said.

With ammunition, it is again only the United States and the Soviet Union which are ahead of South Africa when it comes to diversity--South Africa makes 143 kinds--and advanced state. Only the United States, the Soviet Union and South Africa can manufacture ammunition from the raw materials (for South Africa that is mainly coal) to the completed product.

Krygkor actually furnishes 100 percent of all the weapons for the Army, in addition to all the arms systems for the Air Force. All the arms and ammunition are furnished for the fleet--including missile-bearing attack vessels.

#### Boycott

"In the past South Africa counted on other countries to furnish its arms. We would have liked to keep it that way, but the arms boycott and military attacks from the outside have forced us to provide for our own needs," he said.

Commander Marais said that everything is going very well with Krygkor's exhibition. The exhibition is well organized. Every Latin American country has representatives and visitors. They usually spend a long time at Krygkor's exhibition and ask many questions.

It is not possible to say already now how many weapons will be ordered from South Africa.

"Transactions are not completed within just a few days after such an exhibition. The latter is followed up by intensive negotiations and by visits of technicians to South Africa. Final orders come only months later. We are satisfied, however, with what has been achieved."

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CSO: 3401/60

## SOUTH AFRICA

### CHURCH PAPER URGES CAUTION IN PEACE MOVES

Pretoria BEELD in Afrikaans 9 Mar 84 p 5

[Report: "One Should not Deceive South Africa, Says HERVORMER"]

[Text] A serious plea for South Africa not to let itself be manipulated in its current peace negotiations was furnished yesterday in an unusual article in the Newsletter of DIE HERVORMER, the organ of the Dutch Reformed Church. It also voiced objections to the negotiations.

In an unusual step for a church paper, DIE HERVORMER, in its Newsletter of this week, gives political commentary on the peace negotiations in southern Africa and says that South Africans do not want to be deceived.

#### Option

According to the article, under the title Peace or Deception?, the church welcomes peace initiatives at any time, and DIE HERVORMER does not share the persuasion and conviction of people who think that there is no other option for South Africa but to fight.

"That does not mean that we are in advance suspicious and distrustful of the government's attempts to negotiate peace for the country through means of diplomacy," the article states and continues:

#### Deceit

"But then peace must come about. We do not want to be deceived! It would surely be extremely naive not to ask about the apparent sudden change in disposition against South Africa of a group of extreme African leaders. Is there anywhere a common ground on which one can negotiate with Marxists and Communists?"

#### Penetrate

"We must beware, on the one hand, of being so blinded and paralyzed by magic peace offerings that, on the other hand, SWAPO can achieve its goal in the Southwest without striking a blow," the article says.

The article raised the question of whether it must really be accepted that these are economic realities which will immediately penetrate into neighboring countries and much farther into Africa.

#### Attempts

"It is continually implied that it is the government's 'reform initiatives' which are starting to bear these rich fruits in Africa.

"All past attempts by South Africa to cultivate a milder disposition through means of adjustment or concession have instead resulted in a hardening. Has that changed now? We would be very grateful if that were true.

"However, we seriously want to plea as follows: South Africa must not be manipulated into remaining accommodating and trusting while the enemy gets the opportunity to dig itself strongholds out of which it will never be driven," according to the article.

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CSO: 3401/60

DIE AFRIKANER CRITICIZES PEACE INITIATIVES

DIE AFRIKANER Editorial

Pretoria DIE AFRIKANER in Afrikaans 14 Mar 84 p 4

[Editorial: "Betrayal, Not Peace"]

[Text] Currently there is loud talk of peace again.

Peace? Peace for whom? Will the white people of South Africa and South West Africa be left in peace when the new treaties between Mr P.W. Botha and the Communists of Mozambique and Angola have been signed?

The answer is No. The white people will be attacked more heavily--diplomatically and militarily from the outside, politically, socially and religiously from the inside. National Defense will always be used as the excuse to strive for the social, economic and political objectives of the Botha Government which forces the whites to concessions and weakening.

This is the hidden reason why the Defense Force is not allowed to destroy SWAPO. Didn't the former commander of the Defense Force in South West Africa, General Lloyd, say that it could be done if political limitations didn't prevent it?

Shame due to Betrayal

The peace which is being concluded now is not a peace from a military victory of South Africa over the enemy. It is a peace from a diplomatic victory by the enemy over South Africa.

What is happening now is only a repetition of what happened previously in Rhodesia. At that time peace was also shouted of the top of one's voice. "Peace before Christmas!" was the betrayal which one Afrikaans paper trumpeted in 1974.

Peace? Peace? Did this bring peace for Rhodesia (Zimbabwe)? Did it bring peace for South Africa? No. Not peace, but a defeat for Rhodesia, a victory for the communists. And for South Africa, shame due to betrayal of the whites of Rhodesia.

## Destruction and Chaos

The Vorster Government, which was afraid of further struggle because the consequences would be "too ghastly to contemplate," through "peace" unleashed a hell in Zimbabwe against black minorities and against the whites. The late Dr Verwoerd said in January 1966 that destruction and chaos would follow if a black majority government would take office in Rhodesia. The National Party Government of Mr Vorster knew that would happen. Yet they worked for that and threw Rhodesia to the wolves. Haven't our people seen enough yet?

General Magnus Malan recently said again that the communists follow the Salami method--slicing off piece by piece. In Southern Africa they sliced off Mozambique and Angola and, afterward, Rhodesia. And who aided them the most in that? The National Party Government of South Africa through Mr Pik Botha's diplomacy and with the knowledge and cooperation of General Malan.

And now South West Africa is the next slice of salami the communists want to cut off. And once again it is the National Party Government of South Africa which is holding on to the stick of salami, so that the communists can cut off a slice.

What kind of peace will there be if the Southwest now is handed over to the United Nations to carry out Resolution 435? Peace for whom?

## Surrender in Installments

Once again no peace for the whites of the Southwest and South Africa, only a moral weakening, greater military vulnerability, more immediate threat, more uncertainty about the future. And greater aggressiveness by the communist-led terrorists.

The "peace" in Southern Africa, in which Mr Pik Botha plays the role of an American and British lackey, is not peace but surrender in installments. How does the government dare to permit Mr Botha to frustrate the role of the Defense Force so much?

If the Southwest is also sold out, just like Rhodesia, the moral blow will be tremendous for the white people. And vice versa it will give a great moral thrust to the communist offensive. Then South Africa itself, in a weakened position, will be the next target. And it will again be the Americans and the British who will work through a Mr Pik Botha to let the ANC take over here also, in the name of peace.

## Betrayal

Peace? No, betrayal of those who count on this government's protection. Betrayal of the vital interests of the white people, betrayal of every principle that had been preserved from General Smuts to Dr Verwoerd. The white people of South Africa are little by little robbed of their right to fight for their rights.



The Botha Government stands between us and our future. He must be removed, the sooner the better, so that we may look at the horizon of our nationhood in Africa once again, not afraid to discuss the challenges of our time, and with the visible desire to use our armed strength to gain victory over those who want to destroy us.

#### RAPPORT Comment

Johannesburg RAPPORT in Afrikaans 18 Mar 84 p 15

[Pollux Column: "Sledgehammer for that Militant Mosquito"]

[Excerpt] There is understandable excitement about the peace attempt in Southern Africa--about the prospect of a valid co-existence within reasonable bounds, most certainly with wide-open eyes.

In the midst of all that, I'm throwing a little slap in the direction of the HNP [Herstigste Nasionale Party]; a little sledgehammer tap for a mosquito in politics.

Perhaps one should not pay so much attention, but the HNP and KP [Conservative Party] are culturally so much hand-in-glove these days that it could be of political significance. And it is necessary that those chums learn about each other's attitudes. . .

I'm speaking of the scandalous reflection of the HNP paper on the peace attempt as being a rejectable peace with the Reds.

According to the paper, the planning committee of the HNP refers to the "falseness of the peace cries" and suggests that the government is actually strengthening the communists . . . and other things of that nature.

Most of us know the aggressive character of the HNP and its leadership which would love to use the gun everywhere in Africa to make things right.

It is precisely because of that mentality that Pollux gladly says No thank you. There are circumstances in which a person says: I'll go so far and no further, but only after every possibility for peace has been explored.

That is a laborious and thorough exploration, in spite of setbacks and disappointments. In short, everything possible should be done before one lands, for example, in what Dawie of DIE BURGER/BEELD called this week the pot-hole of a "limited" war in Ovambo and South Angola.

As Dawie puts it: For the last 6 years the war has increased in intensity without one campaign after the other having brought the politicians of this controversial region any closer to a solution.

Enough said.

Once again, to the HNP and similar, rash warmongers: Please make yourselves scarce, you who want to make war through our children. The truth does not come only from the barrel of a gun.

Ironic

It is ironic (or significant) that a KP deputation is attending precisely the signing of the Nkomati treaty--in spite of the recent far-right fraternization.

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CS0: 3401/59

## SOUTH AFRICA

### DAWIE ON POSSIBILITY OF TALKS WITH ANC, SWAPO

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 24 Mar 84 p 8

[Dawie Column: "What are the Chances of 'Peace Talks' with ANC and SWAPO?"]

[Text] Now that peace with South Africa's neighboring states is in the offing, one might ask whether the battle-axes closer to home will also be buried. Surely it is very important that the violence of the ANC and SWAPO will finally also be halted.

Is South Africa really willing to extend its peace initiative to the level of those two violent organizations?

#### Discussion

It would be an unwise government which does not use every opportunity offered to it in a period when the desire for peace is so great. What exactly is the situation with respect to those two organizations?

As to the ANC, it may be assumed that the government is open to discussion with peace as the objective. In the past it has already made various statements in that respect.

If there are ANC leaders who want to bid farewell to the path of violence, one certainly should listen to them and talk with them. And if there are leftists who truly want to promote peace, they should encourage the ANC now to get out of its foreign trenches and come to the peace table.

But will that happen? At the moment there is no sign of that.

#### Strike Back

Those who are in favor of violence have always started from the premise that they do not want to work "within the system," but that they want to find an answer through the barrel of a gun.

They believe that if they simply hold out and insist long enough they will get everything. Then why talk?

That revolutionary philosophy now has had one setback after another in southern Africa. Suddenly there are more and more people on the international scene who no longer accept the view that violence is the only and unavoidable "solution" for the problems of South Africa.

But other things have also happened which have badly thwarted the ANC's position. The decision of Mozambique to let itself no longer be used as a starting point for terrorist attacks on South Africa has created serious logistical dilemmas for that organization.

#### Weakened

Even worse are the implications that certain black states are reconsidering the role of the ANC and describing it differently now. They see it now as "a movement for civil rights" rather than as an armed liberation movement.

South Africa is a sovereign state and thus clearly free, said a Mozambique leader a few days ago. The battle waged by the ANC is one which it should settle with the government of the country involved.

One might expect that all those things would move the ANC to extend the hand of peace rather than to throw terrorist bombs. But its reaction is exactly the opposite, for it is afraid to negotiate from a weakened position right now.

Reports from abroad indicate that the ANC, the Anti-Apartheid Movement and others are desperately trying to muster new aid. It is a gathering and an appeal to others.

But dialogue with South Africa? They are only saying that the violent struggle will intensify.

South Africa's attitude is a little different toward SWAPO. The standpoint of South Africa is that it itself is not a party in the internal politics of the Southwest, but that it merely plays a protective role with which it was charged. The people of the Southwest themselves must decide on their future; that has been stated again and again.

#### Green Light

If SWAPO wants to come to an agreement with someone, it should be with the internal parties. South Africa has already given the green light for such negotiations and has even declared itself willing to participate, for the sake of the broader implications for Angola and the Southwest, in a peace conference with the MPLA government of Luanda, UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], the internal parties of the Southwest and SWAPO.

SWAPO wants nothing to do with that. It wants to negotiate with South Africa, and only with South Africa.

## Other Insights

First this is meant as an insult to the internal parties because by doing that SWAPO tells them that it does not recognize them. Moreover, it is a delaying tactic because SWAPO knows now unacceptable its request is. And even if such a negotiation should take place and an agreement were reached, then how is South Africa supposed to sell it to the divergent internal parties which have to live with it?

Dawie says again: If the leftists want to prove their sincerity in obtaining peace, they should let their voices be heard in converting both the ANC and SWAPO to other views.

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CSO: 3401/60

YAMEOGO DISCUSSES PROBLEMS INVOLVING SNEAHV, CDR

Ouagadougou L'OBSERVATEUR in French 20 Mar 84 pp 6-11, 13

[Interview with Maurice Yameogo; date and place not given]

[Text] [Initial line or lines missing from text of original] on 4 August, prior to discussing the French army, the withdrawal of which from Upper Volta he had requested, and giving his views, in conclusion, on the attitude of Joseph Ki-Zerbo, who is abroad.

Among the other things we discussed with President Maurice Yameogo today were the question of his palace in Koudougou, which has become a House of the People, "the unnatural alliance" between Joseph Ouedraogo and Joseph Ki-Zerbo, and the letter he sent to the cardinal during a certain era.

Taking up the problem of the SNEAHV [National Union of African Teachers of Upper Volta] (which, moreover, went out on strike this morning, for 48 hours, in fact, to demand the release of three of its officials who have been arrested), Maurice Yameogo said that this union is being manipulated by Ki-Zerbo.

In addition, he discussed the both serious and responsible contribution, importance and role which falls to the CDR, speaking on the economic level.

[Question] However, the 7 November coup d'etat found Ki-Zerbo in Europe.

[Answer] Thus this fits precisely with what I am telling you. In other words, I am saying that all of the coups d'etat, even in the Lamizana era, if you understand that Lamizana had a regime like that--Ki-Zerbo knows this. He became too involved in it. Otherwise, Lamizana is an honest man. I was happy with the TPR verdict, and I will tell you why. In 1977, JEUNE AFRIQUE came down to my home there to interview me. I was asked about my relations with Sangoule: Wasn't I angry with him because he had wrested power away from me? I said no. He did not take power away from me. It was I myself who sent for him when things were at their worst point, to say to him: "You are chief of the general staff. I put you in charge of directing operations. And you will do what you can to see that everything proceeds normally. For my part, I am leaving." And moreover, Sangoule was the most honest man I had ever known. I do not see who else could take over from me. You should be very careful. When his government was ousted and the special court was established to try Lamizana (I am revealing this to you today--I have never



told anyone), I myself wrote at the time to Houphouet to tell him: "You know Lamizana as I do. He was my general staff commander. He has become president. Just because he, following the repeated urgings of Ki-Zerbo's MLN [National Liberation Movement] at the time, took me to court, you should not undertake to drag him too into the courts, because Maurice has already been tried. I was the only one to really have to deal with such a matter, but it is shameful. This must stop with Maurice. You vilify chiefs of state and when their terms are over, you drag them into the courts. This does not do honor to the country." I wrote to Houphouet to tell him this. And when I saw that he was acquitted, I myself could write to say that Lamizana took care of my children while I was in prison. I told him this as well. When I wrote to him to ask for something to send to my children in France, he gave me money. Where did he find it? Was it not from the special funds? He never refused me anything. And when my daughter died in France, he made all the arrangements so that the body could be sent here under the best conditions. And he offered his condolences to me in terms I can never forget. He was the only one. Thus, what I am saying to you is that Ki-Zerbo was always involved with even the best determination of the chiefs of state in their personal administration, because he wants to utilize them to win power at all costs. I recall that one day the conversation was of great interest to me, and I remember many things. In the course of a discussion, a group of us were talking about something and he said to one of his comrades: "Watch out, or the MLN will be sleeping and then our adversaries (the LIPAD [Patriotic League for Development]) will be much more positive than we are. They hold meetings, they have clear summaries, while for our part..." Thus it was an intellectual elite. Well, then! I tell you that Ki-Zerbo will do anything to win power. But since the military advocates of the 4 August revolution came, we too are happy, because there will no longer be any regime but this. And this clears everyone. What is important for all of us now is to see that it does not become a failure, but succeeds. And to ensure that all those who are abroad, whether we admire them or suspect them of this or that, know that the people of Upper Volta, rallied and united, have the capacity to provide a model of a certain originality. It is above all this which is charming and admirable to see when one looks at the movement overall which is developing throughout the national territory.

[Question] You are following contemporary events. You know that quite recently the minister of national defense and veterans had occasion to make a statement regarding the summons issued to a certain number of trade unionists who are accused of subversive activities. It emerges clearly from the statement that these are people who have in fact been manipulated by men presently abroad, including, obviously, Professor Ki-Zerbo. On the basis of what you have just said, doesn't this surprise you?

[Answer] It surprises me a little, after all, regarding those who are here within the country, because they do not know the use Professor Ki-Zerbo is making or wants to make of them within the framework of the SNEAHV. Professor Ki-Zerbo doesn't give a fig for the SNEAHV. But concerning its activity, to help him personally gain access to power--there he is interested. Do you really believe that these people are being manipulated by those abroad? If they knew that the basic purpose of Ki-Zerbo is to make use of them, I believe they would have reason to reflect, because these are men. They have

their own personalities, and Ki-Zerbo has only to use other means. Look. Suppose the SNEAHV people do not reach agreement again at all, and rebel against the regime. Students' parents--and this is the goal sought--will rebel if the teachers abandon their classrooms. Rebel against whom? Against the existing regime. Is this not a cynical goal? Those who continue to follow, while seeing this--for my part, I cannot understand them. This is why I am confident that when they have heard all the proposals made to Ki-Zerbo urging him to join the government, which he has refused, they will know that it is not the service he can render to the country which interests him, but rather being at the top in Upper Volta. This is pride of knowledge. He wants to show us that he is the leading scholar here, only he counts, but he does not count at all. There are young people who are better than he is today from the point of view of knowledge. He has in fact been surpassed. This is why he behaves thus.

[Question] Are you not afraid that you will be accused of wanting to settle old accounts with Ki-Zerbo?

[Answer] Not at all. I mean that I am sincere and honest with myself. When I was released in 1970, he came to congratulate me, as everyone did, obviously. He came with the Lankoande, and I was with my friends. We discussed certain problems he had dealt with in the 3 January era, in particular double nationality, and all that.

I said that I am not persuaded thus far that I was wrong. He himself said that on reflection, he has seen that it was a bad business when they opposed him. He told me that. And I said to him: "You see, Professor Ki-Zerbo, I will tell you something. We know each other, we were at the seminary together. If I toss in my hat tomorrow as a candidate against Ki-Zerbo in the Upper Voltan presidential election, you can be sure they will vote for me." I told him this in front of witnesses. He was completely flabbergasted. I asked him if this were true or not. He said that it would depend. I reiterated that it was true. We parted like that, until the 1978 elections. This is to show you that he is concerned with power.

Then in the first round, it was said that it was he who would put Sangoule on the second ballot, that it was he who would make the second round. Well, it was Macaire, my candidate.

And as the opposition, which was under the protection of Joseph Ouedraogo at the time, decided to support that candidate, we met again with Joseph and Ki-Zerbo in Poa. Do you know what Ki-Zerbo proposed? That Macaire be forced to withdraw so that he could be the opposition candidate. I said: "But you are crazy! The electoral law says that the candidate who puts Sangoule on the second ballot must continue the battle, and by what right do you want me to tell Macaire, who was democratically elected, to withdraw so that you can take over? What do you take me for?" And he said to me: "If it's like that, I am leaving."

Joseph Ouedraogo, for his part, out of pride and dignity, remained, but has not helped us greatly.

And these are things of which the people are unaware. In other words, the reason is not ill will or prejudice against him.

In answer to a question put to him about the traditional chieftains, which because of technical difficulties in recording we cannot transcribe word for word, the former president described the interference by the traditional chiefs, and told us how, even prior to independence, he frustrated a coup d'etat designed to bring about the proclamation of a monarchic republic under the sponsorship of the Moro Naba of that era. Then Maurice Yameogo went on to say:

"What would that have led to today? On the day of that event, Col Chevrot was in a jeep, accompanied by the late minister of war, Ouidi, and Moro in the center, as well as an officer named Congo, a member of Moro's family, who was a young lieutenant or sublieutenant at that time. They advanced toward the building, and I came out on foot to meet the crowd.

Now what happened? They had claimed it was I who said that the crowd should invade the assembly building, because the deputies refused to reduce taxes. In any case, at that time I did represent something for the masses. And when the people saw me, they put down their sticks and bludgeons and other weapons and began to applaud. And this was how the coup d'etat was frustrated. And the colonel and Moro left again. They went to Moro's home, where they had set up their microphone to incite the people. No one was there. And in the evening, I held a meeting at the assembly at which I condemned Moro's attitude. I called him to his feet and I gave him the sack. At the time everyone was scandalized. Some of the police left the station because they thought something was going to happen. But I am sorry, had I known, I would have dismissed him, and him alone, if I had known. But I think that history continues on its round, just the same."

[Question] Concerning that, I have a question to ask you, because you referred directly to the problem of feudal loyalty. You were one of the first chiefs of state to take a harsh stand against the feudal system, if I dare put it thus. How then do you view the struggle being pursued precisely against the feudal chieftains today?

[Answer] For my part, when I hear this, I cannot say I rejoice. But I can nonetheless say that history is a perpetual new beginning. And I know that there was an evil there. Naturally, the CNR makes a distinction between good chiefs and bad chiefs. It is a fact that there are always some like that everywhere. But basically this was a bad thing. Look in fact at Gerard, here. You will not believe it, but he has a document with him. If one day he is willing, I will inform you of it. It concerns the chieftains, in terms of Nablaga, where they were damned and cast out of the family. This document was disseminated to all the higher chieftains when we were in the MDV [Voltan Democratic Movement], because it was being said that the chieftains were victimizing people.

I am 63 years old today. I know what I have seen during these years, and it is unthinkable. I have seen both those who were good and those who were

veritable tyrants. And the fact that the CNR has made the decision to ignore them completely, to liquidate them in a way, is enormously pleasing to the mass of the people. This increased their income, because going to make a gift of a goat or a kid from time to time reduced the peasants' economic potential. All of this is a part of the functional economy, and should by its nature contribute to the economic prosperity of each individual. Counting the eggs in the basket means counting potential chickens.

You cannot imagine the volume of success this provides because it is a matter of the traditional chieftains. One cannot conceive of a republic, much less a revolutionary people, while chieftains or monarchies exist. This is not found anywhere. It is necessary then to pursue matters to the end. For our part, we did not have the means to undertake a Caesarian operation on them. It was not the desire or the intent which we lacked. As you see I have touched on it somewhat. I reacted to what had become extremely dangerous to the very survival of the republic, because the monarchy could return overnight, since help could be given it from the other side, as you know. Thus I was cautious. And my caution was interpreted as a form of resignation. After all, one must know how to take a step in retreat. That is what a political man is. Now I am not so sorry, because the CNR has in many sectors confirmed the fact that our attitude was nothing other than what needed to be done so that the people could be truly masters of their destiny and could merit respect, as is the case now.

[Question] Among the decisions made by the CNR, there is one for which the reasons might perhaps displease you. This was the fact that the palace you had built in Koudougou was taken over.

[Answer] Well, you know that it is because there was such an uproar about it that it is somewhat shocking. I had the palace in Koudougou built at a time when General DeGaulle had said he might pay an official visit to Upper Volta. He asked me then if I came from Ouagadougou. I told him I came from Koudougou, 100 kilometers away. He said that he might come to visit my native village. I then took this seriously, to the extent that afterward I went to the BIAO [International Bank for West Africa] in Paris to apply for a loan to build the famous palace which you know. And I chose an architect whom I asked to make all the estimates necessary for the money needed to build this edifice. And I gave him the plan to carry out. At that time, I had already amassed a quantity of stones--more than 48 on the site itself. He said that with the sum of 44,300,000, he could build the house.

It was on 18 June that the house was turned over to me, with the keys, furnished, comfortable, luxurious, etc. Marvelous. If you had seen it brand-new, it was really magnificent for Upper Volta. I signed contracts and had a 3-year deferment on payment from the date the house was turned over to me. Thus I was to begin to pay the initial sum in 1966. Meanwhile, the government fell, and I honored no agreement, which obviously meant the confiscation of the house. All that was needed was for the government (Lamizana) to honor the agreements in order for the house to become in fact the House of the People, and that was all. Since I had paid nothing. The only advantage I had was to obtain credit for payment, and it was that which needed to be said.

When the agreements reached them, they filed them away. Watch out, my dear Watamou, the premiums accumulated to more than 300 million. And one day the BIAO wrote me a letter saying that the government did not want to do anything, and that they could only turn to me, because I had signed the mortgage on my house in France to obtain the loan. (I had a house on the Cote d'Azur, which I had paid for by means of a "pressing" with which a friend provided me, and which my friend Nader, whom you knew, bought from me for 17.5 million [as published]. The house cost me 15 million, and that was what I mortgaged to obtain the 45 million.) Then the BIAO said: "We will put it up for public auction and we will take you to court." I said: "No. Sell it on a friendly basis and that is all. If that is enough to cover the costs, good." The BIAO in Paris said that, as it was not my fault, they would make a reduction of almost 100 million. I was able to sell the house for 200 million, which entirely covered the cost. There remained a surplus of perhaps 4 million for me. I paid everything, I have the papers.

Thus, to summarize, this is the house which I offered to the state for nothing (because the present regime is not familiar with it, it does not know how that happened).

If I had stayed, do you believe I would have gone to live in a place like that? With the lack of security, the recurring costs? I wanted perhaps to convert it one day into a hotel even (the Koudougou Grand Hotel, good food, etc.). It was not a place to live in. You can look for yourself--the design of the house was suited to conversion to a hotel. The courtyard is rather huge. I made an agreement with Bernier, who was there on the spot--it was his wife who sold it to me for 3 million. Bouda Yam-Yidigri gave me his part for nothing. The late Ousmane Sibiri sold me his land for 1 million at the time, when I was a member of the Grand Council. I left the land like that, and began to fence it. It was the method which shocked me a little. I am not angry, because it was due to ignorance. If they had known what I have been telling you...

I am not a thief. I can be bold. I like beautiful things, I like what is marvelous, but I am neither a gangster nor sold out.

[Question] Precisely in this connection, I must say that some Upper Voltans have sometimes said that if you had been able to continue after 1966, Ouagadougou would not be what it is today, because they see you as a man who loves good taste (the House of the People and a certain number of other achievements). Sometimes it is difficult to understand these regrets, because in 1966 you were told to leave. Today, some still feel regret. Do you think that in satisfying the needs of the people, these elements need to be taken into account?

[Answer] You know, each individual lives in his era. I lived in an era when travel allowed one to see this or that. One had friendly presidents like ourselves, whom one visited. We had a certain complex. And then we said: "I am going to do that at home too." But with the current situation (the people lacking food), I think that there is no longer any question of thinking of things like that.



Looking back, when I myself look at the house today, in view of the situation, I do not dare raise my eyes to see it. Frankly, I am ashamed!

It is the situation in our day which made it possible to do things like that. But I am not ashamed because of misappropriating money, because I did not do that.

[Question] We will try to look at the prospects from the point of view of the development of the revolution. You have talked a great deal about it, and I think one can always return to it so that you can describe the lessons you yourself have drawn from this experience, and which might contribute to making the current process more profound.

[Answer] What counts for me is the present organizations. Whether they be the CDR or the TPR, which are in the process of revealing to the whole world what the Upper Voltan people are capable of in terms of investigation and training the people concerning the actions of their officials. This is unique.

When I hear this, even I often wonder if I am really in Upper Volta. It is truly amazing. These are courts which allow everyone to know what an Upper Voltan official really is. The money used for futile purposes, for whatever, which could have gone for the country's development--now they know it.

It is most disgusting. One might not have known this had this regime not existed. I can say that with the organization of the CDR, the country may regain a perfect economic balance, but the CDR must know how to play their role.

I mean that they must regard themselves as in a certain way more responsible than the president of the CNR where the masses are concerned, and they must as a result adopt a certain attitude toward all those with whom they must deal. One can extract the truth from anyone by means of conviction, to the point that he is covered with shame. But when you heap grotesque insults upon him, without even reasonable motives we rebel and revert to nature. This too has been seen. The Upper Voltan citizen obeys when you have persuaded him of his abuse in straightforward fashion. But if you insult him grotesquely and all, he rebels and is no longer worth anything, serves no further purpose.

I am saying that the political regime must insist on the supreme responsibility of the CDR. The secretary general himself knows something about it, and it is to him that investigation falls. For the time being, it is for some a matter of groping. There are those who believe that down there, there will be plenty to eat and drink, as the famous Welte said. But it is something other than that: It is that which should condition economic development in all fields, linked with a certain behavior which inspires respect for the leader and which demands obedience of you. If this requirement is not met, I am afraid that certain things will be set somewhat aside. Now with the 2 October speech, which we all have by our bedsides and which has become our breviary, Sourou is the main thing. That began in my era. But I was happy



to see with what insistence President Sankara said that it is necessary at all costs to complete the Sourou Dam. I was the more appreciative since I had occasion to gain an understanding of the problem in depth, along with Edouard Yameogo, who was my economic minister at the time. But if this is achieved, it will be a first success, not to mention the sectorial projects the CDR are carrying out in all the regions. It was never like this before.

At a given moment, if one strikes a balance, one will realize what Upper Volta is capable of. Now, it will nonetheless be necessary, although it is said that one should not beg or solicit, that in those cases where we have a right to international aid, that each do his part so that we can obtain funds for the great projects. For in any case, the Komplenga Dam must be built, and money must be provided. If we achieve something astonishing, people will say that they did not believe we would succeed. It must become possible one day for people to say this. I think that on the economic level, if each gives a little of what he has and if this continues on a regular basis, much can be accomplished penny by penny.

In the Solidarity Fund which has just been established, there is already 400 million. If each one gives 1,000, 200 or 500 francs periodically, each time, this is a fund which will one day total millions, and it will be possible to undertake projects without worry, while, obviously, hoping for providential foreign contributions. But I see that we have begun very well, because one thing must be recognized in economic policy: Help yourself first, and the heavens will help you. The will motivating the Upper Voltan people, under the sponsorship of the CDR and the president, his colleagues, his ministers and others, including the journalists--who are doing much more work now than before--I am convinced that something has changed for good and that this will work. This is sure, because one must rely on himself first.

If foreign sources see this, on the day they realize that we have built the Sourou Dam, that we have completed the Bobo aviation facility--aid will be there. It is when one sees that the peasant who has nothing is giving what he can to achieve something useful for the collective, speaking in human terms--then one cannot but help him. This is not begging, it is logic, it is international solidarity which dictates this.

[Question] I would like to return to a period in the history of Upper Volta--that after 17 May. It must be said that a certain number of Upper Voltans have failed to understand that in your behavior after 17 May, you gave the impression that your rehabilitation had been hindered by the progressive wing of the CSP, such as the Sankara people, who were the first in fact to raise the problem of your rehabilitation.

[Answer] I can tell you that I could not understand this, because at no time did I say anything at all about the progressive wing being opposed to my rehabilitation. This is not a good thing to say. It is precisely the people you know who were really my spoiled children at a given time who have maintained things truly likely to make us lose our heads, and which led to this solution. I prefer not to speak of it because at the present time, they are useful to the revolution, very useful. But I think that you can guess what I

mean. If it had not been for that...I even said one day, "Look, it is said that the government of these people, those people there, is made up of communists, of Reds." I said that they have red shoes and clothing, bring them to me and I will wear them. I even said this to someone. This is to explain to you that there was eagerness for a change, a change so that one would know that things were no longer as they were yesterday, because coups d'etat followed one after the other, but they all seemed alike. They all ended in garbage. But when that happened, it was perhaps what I myself, if I had made consistent studies, would have carried out.

That happens, and will I then find myself on the sidelines?

What led us to advance in support of Jean-Baptiste was very simple: There were military men among them and they appointed themselves, we were not there. It was believed that this was the same scene beginning again: a coup d'etat to replace another, and then these things would never end. But if it had been suspected that beyond that, there was the revolution which was coming, well, my dear friend, it would have been I who would have carried the banner. But all this is past. I wrote to President Sankara in my personal self-criticism, and I told him that it is necessary to forget this incident along the way and not to believe, where I am concerned, in the total mobilization of the entire region of the province of Bourkina in support of the CNR, and I know that this is true.

When I have occasion to involve my "lenga" beyond that, all that has happened will have been forgotten. Jean-Baptiste himself is ready to go with his self-criticism to Kongoussi and to follow the CNR. Did you have any idea of this a little while ago? No one would have believed it. I know this, because we are all there together. I know many things, and it is encouraging.

[Question] I would like to ask you a last question. Aren't you afraid that it will be said that it is because you were arrested and are no longer in Koudougou that you speak this way--all that you have just said?

[Answer] I say that if I go to Koudougou, my comrades will think that this was remote-controlled. But at my age, frankly--and look at us, have we been mistreated?--you see, I am not in very bad shape after all. Thus at my age, can I be forced to say something I do not want to say? One would prefer to die than to say it. But I am willing, because I know the time has come when everyone must express himself. A minute lost may do damage, taking a whole series of factors into account, the opinion of this one or that one, but personally, I compensate for it. I am in a position to prove that even in Po I can say that, and return to Po, it goes without saying. And it is not to haggle or compromise anything at all. If it were opportunism, I would not have come here to answer your questions. I would have said simply: "No, I am not coming." But it is sincere. One senses that this is urgent and must be done.

What do we lack here? If it were not for our families, which are far from us, such that we experience a little sadness, we are very well off here. We are not mistreated. It is only the family which is missing. But we prefer

not to engage in opportunism, but to remain calm. Thus it is not out of opportunism, nor bitterness, nor ill will nor vengeance against anyone at all that I maintain these things. Until tomorrow, when I may be free. If I am, perhaps I will be somewhat more caustic, but in brotherly, friendly fashion. Because not a single one of my adversaries has failed to visit me or to be surprised at how I welcomed him, although knowing all he has done to me. To date, this has been classic for me. I have told you certain things here which you perhaps did not suspect, but it is like that. I have no enemies.

You see, Ouezzin had the first crisis here in 1957. At that time I was a militant in the MDV. It was the most revolutionary party in existence at the time, because there was a clear attack upon the chieftains and also, if you will, on the clergy. Because Ouezzin was the most revolutionary man among the old African politicians--he had 43 trials in France when he was a deputy there. At the time of the Outline Law, he came to us here, and we accepted him as our first vice-president after the high commissioner. It was felt, when the crisis broke out, that the hand of colonialism was behind him.

The crisis lasted 45 days. I resigned from his government as minister of economy, after having resigned from the MDV, and I returned to the Assembly as a deputy to defend him, because it had been said that Ouezzin was not a Mossi. He is a member of a minority. I said: "But his intelligence is superior. For my part, I compensate--I know only him and my deputies will vote for him, so that he will serve another term," and it was in this way that the first crisis in West Africa with the advent of the Outline Law was that involving Ouezzin.

What I mean to say is that there are times when some aspect of my behavior could not be understood. But I am objective. When I learned that it was being said that Ouezzin was not a Mossi, I said: "But how can that be? He is the most intelligent of all us, the cleverest, the most distinguished and capable of leading us to independence without firing a shot. For my part I want only him." Only 3 votes were needed to elect Ouezzin. There were 6 of us. I had only 6 deputies. I said we must go ahead. We voted, and he was elected. What I mean to say is that in all of this current CNR conduct, a whole complex of things has been ended. Everything is filed. And also the politicians have now become identical, and are all in the same position. There is no worry.

(Speaking of the end of political activity, our interlocutor added that in any case he had already served as president. For the others, all is finished and filed, because the CNR is there.)

[Question] You spoke just a moment ago of a subject which suggested a question to me, because recently I read a letter you are said to have signed. It is a letter which in fact accused the cardinal of systematic opposition to your rehabilitation. I do not know if you really did sign the letter, or is this something that has been blamed on you?

[Answer] It was I who signed it. You know, it is serious. I do not know if you read the letter. Have you read it? (Our correspondent answered yes.)

It is serious. All I did moreover was to outline certain things generally. And Ki-Zerbo was again at the center of all that. How do you think this could weaken me? Who did he think he was? If his name is Joseph, well I too am named Maurice, I am also a Catholic, and there is no one who made me choose the Catholic religion. What is the reason for a special choice for this one or another? Thus there is something. This is not normal. It is this which I wanted to stress. It was difficult.

5157

CSO: 3419/542

## MUGABE DISCUSSES ETHNIC RELATIONS, MATABELELAND

MB150734 Harare Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 15 Apr 84

[Text] The prime minister, Comrade Robert Mugabe, has assured Zimbabweans of foreign origin that they need not fear any expulsion by the government as long as they toe the line. Speaking at a fund raising dinner held by the Asian community in Harare last night, Comrade Mugabe said the government is committed to the policy of reconciliation, through which it hopes to cultivate brotherly relations between Zimbabweans of all ethnic groups [words indistinct]. He said all members of minority groups in Zimbabwe should not feel isolated, but should become part of the nation that they have helped to build.

A spokesman for the Asians presented three checks of 1,000 dollars each to the minister of state responsible for security, Comrade Munangagwa, for the use by the government and the ruling party, ZANU-PF. The money is for the country's independence celebrations fund, the ZANU-PF party headquarters' building fund, and the party congress to be held in August. The Asians also announced that they have raised 42,000 dollars for the construction of a clinic. The location of the clinic is still to be decided by the government.

Earlier in the day, Comrade Mugabe told newsmen in Bulawayo that the security situation has improved in Matabeleland. He said if the situation continues to improve, the curfew in Matabeleland South will be lifted. He expressed satisfaction at the recent killing of 35 dissidents by the security forces.

Comrade Mugabe also commended the decision by a member of ZAPU Comrade Callistus Ndlovu, who is also the minister of mines, to resign from the party and seek membership in ZANU-PF. The prime minister said the move demonstrates that there is division and contradiction within Dr Nkomo's party.

CSO: 3400/866

## BRIEFS

ZAPU MINES MINISTER JOINS ZANU-PF--The minister of mines, Comrade Callistus Ndlovu, has resigned from ZAPU. He told a news conference in Bulawayo today that he intends joining ZANU-PF. Comrade Ndlovu said it was demonstratively obvious that he no longer had a place in his old party, which he accused of being run as the personal property of an individual or individuals. He said he believes there is no chance in hell that ZAPU can ever be resuscitated to effectively participate in the affairs of this country. Comrade Ndlovu said anyone who believed that this is possible is whistling through a graveyard. He said at the moment the party is not only misguided but has totally lost the capacity to distinguish the trees from the woods. The minister said he has also resigned from the Central Committee of the party. He was elected a member of parliament on a ZAPU ticket in 1980. Comrade Ndlovu said his decision is shared by many members of the party who will be making their intentions known very soon. He said they had no ill-feelings with the leadership of ZAPU, but as politicians they felt the party completely incompetent and unsuitable for the kind of program that must be faced in this period of transition from colonial rule to full independence. Comrade Ndlovu said he believed the Ndebele people cannot afford to place themselves in a permanent state of minority in Zimbabwe. He said he expects many recriminations from supporters of ZAPU but he is not [word indistinct]. [Text] [BM150715 Harare Domestic Service in English 1115 GMT 14 Apr 84]

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